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Moscow's Third World Educational Programs: An Investment in Political Influence

An Intelligence Assessment

CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
RELEASE AS SANITIZED
1999

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Moscow's Third World Educational Programs: An Investment in Political Influence

Key Judgments

Information available as of 11 June 1989 was used in this report

Moscow over the years has developed an extensive academic scholarship program that is used in conjunction with other overt and clandestine activities to lay the groundwork for increased influence in the Third World. A review of the overall program [] suggest that Moscow's motive for initiating and funding educational programs for foreign students remains political, with the ultimate goal of molding pro-Soviet activists who will assume the reins of political power in their countries. The success of the program and its low cost will ensure that it remains a mainstay of the Soviet nonmilitary aid effort in the Third World, even as Moscow pares back on overall aid commitments.

We estimate that, since the 1960s, about 167,000 students from 103 non-Communist less developed countries (LDCs) have traveled to the Soviet Union for training, and that 71,000 are enrolled there now in training programs. The training is conducted overtly but contains considerable political indoctrination, with all students receiving an average of 70 hours of political coursework per year. A select group of about 10,500 of these students have also received elite political training at the CPSU Institute of Social Sciences, where they study Communist ideology, propaganda, organizational techniques, and undergo training in clandestine activities.

[] the KGB closely monitors every facet of the Soviet scholarship program to identify individuals who are likely candidates for higher political training, who are willing to provide conduits for organizing and funding covert activities on their return home, and who will perform other clandestine services for Moscow. Because about 60 percent of the scholarships offered annually are distributed by local Communist parties, trade unions, friendship societies, and other Soviet front groups—often clandestinely—we believe the KGB uses these groups to identify the types of students desired.

The Soviet scholarship program has paid the most dividends in Marxist client states where Soviet-trained personnel now dominate the power structures. The Presidents of Afghanistan and Angola and the Prime Minister of Ethiopia were trained in the USSR, and Soviet-trained officials also hold high party and government positions in Ethiopia, Nicaragua, and South Yemen. Nearly one-third of the scholarships awarded each year go to students from Marxist client states, and these students in particular are subjected to intensive indoctrination through required extracurricular

activities. In addition to the training in the Soviet Union, Moscow has even designed programs for primary through advanced university study in these countries to train youth in Marxist-Leninist principles.

The scholarship program has also paid dividends in non-Marxist LDCs over the past five years as Soviet-trained officials moved slowly into civil service and policy-level positions in a number of countries. In Bolivia, Ecuador, and Guyana, graduates of the Soviet program have attained ministerial positions. By the end of 1988, more than 95,000 students from non-Communist LDCs had returned home with degrees or certificates from Soviet institutions. [] many of them are employed in the civil service of at least 67 countries and have attained policy-level positions in no less than 45, primarily in Africa

[] LDC students are probably satisfied with the Soviet program, but not all are happy with their experiences in the USSR. Some students have returned home after only a few weeks in the Soviet Union because of poor living conditions. Others complain of having been victimized by deceptive recruiting practices, or of heavyhanded KGB surveillance, travel restrictions, substandard housing, and racial discrimination. These problems affect their morale and their academic performance, and many come away convinced that Marxism-Leninism is the wrong answer to LDC problems. Negative perceptions are reinforced when students are unable to find work because their Soviet degree is not respected

Despite whatever shortcomings the program may have, Gorbachev apparently believes that training students from LDCs is beneficial on balance for the USSR. Indeed, the Kremlin has awarded a larger number of scholarships to Third World students during his tenure than ever before. We believe there are compelling reasons for Gorbachev to maintain or increase Moscow's scholarship program:

- It is a low-cost, low-risk, high-impact program. It requires little or no hard currency expenditure and diverts few resources from domestic economic activity. Unlike economic aid programs, it does not draw criticism from the international community.
- It can be tightly controlled by Moscow. No money changes hands, and the USSR insists that graduates return home after study is completed, hopefully to promote Soviet political and economic interests.

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- It has been successful. Alumni include a number of high-level officials sympathetic to Moscow's views, as well as others who have permeated influential sectors of LDC governments and professions.
- It burnishes Moscow's image as a peaceful, public-spirited nation intent on improving LDC economic conditions and permits Moscow to inflate claims about its aid to LDCs because the Soviets calculate the value of their scholarships by Western tuition costs.
- It provides continuity of contacts in LDCs through former student societies and refresher courses in the USSR.

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Moscow's Third World Educational Programs: An Investment in Political Influence

Introduction

For more than 30 years, Moscow has used its academic scholarship program in conjunction with other overt and clandestine activities to lay the groundwork for increased influence in the Third World.¹ Soviet influence activity encompasses everything from economic and military aid programs to establishing friendship societies and engaging in active measures. Unlike most Soviet activities and programs, however, the academic scholarship program has not drawn criticism from the international community. In fact, Moscow has used the program successfully to project an image of a peaceful, public-spirited nation intent on improving LDC economic conditions by providing an education to students who cannot afford a Western education. In an era of economic reform and closer scrutiny of external spending, the Soviet educational program for students from LDCs provides Moscow with a very effective and low-cost influence operation.

Soviet Objectives

Moscow's motivation in initiating and funding educational programs for foreign students has always been political, with the ultimate goal of molding pro-Soviet activists who will assume the reins of political power in their countries. []

Soviet objectives today differ little, if any, from the original program goals to:

- Create an educated elite among potential political and economic leaders who will be favorably inclined toward Moscow.
- Spot individuals who can be cultivated and trained as agents of influence to further Soviet policies on their return home.

¹ This paper deals with Soviet academic programs for non-Communist developing countries, which for purposes of this report include all countries of Africa except South Africa; all countries of East and South Asia except Cambodia, Laos, Mongolia, North Korea, and Vietnam; all countries of the Caribbean except Cuba; and all countries of the Middle East.

- Build a structure of individuals through whom Moscow can maintain power during times of political turmoil or setbacks in LDCs.
 - Assist Marxist allies in consolidating power.
- To achieve these aims, Moscow has marshaled the resources of its huge school system to offer training in more than 300 specialties at 400 universities, schools, and institutes in the USSR.

The Educational Program

Moscow's program for training foreign students has evolved from a small effort that began in the 1920s, when assorted revolutionaries were brought to the Soviet Union strictly for party training, into a large sophisticated educational structure that incorporates academic training with political indoctrination. More recently, in light of Moscow's reform efforts, Gorbachev has called for a restructuring of training to produce graduates who are competent in understanding and defending Marxism-Leninism.

On the basis of data from official and public sources, we estimate that some 167,000 students from 103 non-Communist LDCs have traveled to the USSR for training since the 1960s and that nearly 71,000 are enrolled there now in training programs.² One-third of these students come from Africa, followed by those from the Middle East (25 percent), South Asia (20 percent), and Latin America (25 percent). By the end of 1988, more than 95,000 students from non-Communist LDCs had returned home with degrees or certificates from Soviet institutions.³

About 95 percent of the LDC students who have studied in the Soviet Union took the same academic training courses and attended the same universities

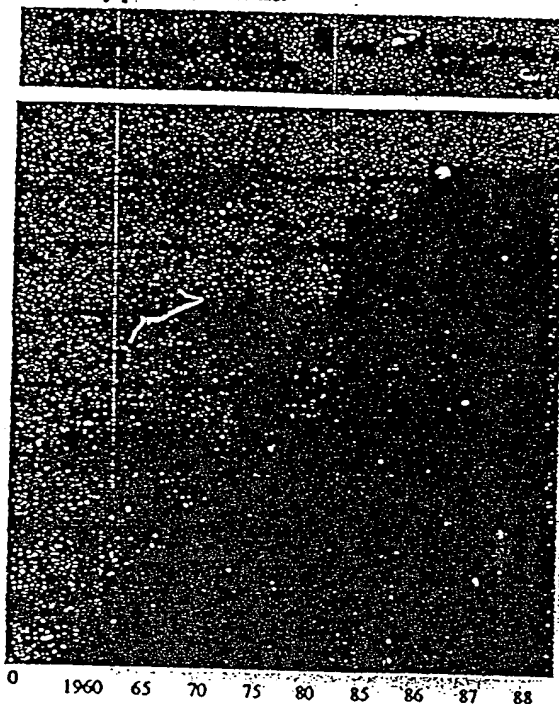
² See appendix for numbers of academic students from non-Communist LDCs trained in the USSR.

³ See figure 4 at end of text for an assessment of training programs in non-Communist developing countries.

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Figure 1
Academic Students From Non-Communist LDCs
Being Trained in the USSR

Number of persons (thousands)



and technical institutes as the Soviet citizen. Academic training is conducted overtly, but like all education in the USSR it involves political indoctrination.

most students are enrolled in degree programs, usually of five or six years' duration; the first of which is devoted exclusively to studying the Russian language in preparation for future coursework, which is conducted entirely in Russian. In addition, all students—even those enrolled in engineering and other technical fields—average about 70 hours a year in political coursework.

The program offers training in a wide array of disciplines for which Moscow picks up the entire tab. For example, specialties offered at Moscow's Patrice Lumumba People's Friendship University, which has the highest concentration of Third World students, include:

- Preparatory Russian (requirement).
- Agriculture.
- Economics and Law.
- Engineering.
- Health Sciences.
- History and Philology.
- Medicine.
- Physics, Mathematics, and Natural Sciences.
- Russian Language Teaching.

Students receive all-expense scholarships, including tuition, round trip airfare, housing, books, medical care, and a stipend of approximately 100 rubles a month for living expenses. In actuality, the scholarship program requires little or no hard currency outlay by Moscow because students are transported to the USSR on Aeroflot flights and all program expenditures for the student while in the USSR are in rubles.

We estimate that, in addition to training at normal academic institutions, about 10,500 students from non-Communist LDCs have received elite political training in the USSR, primarily at the CPSU Institute of Social Sciences (ISS) in Moscow—also known as the International Lenin School, the International School of Marxism-Leninism, and the International

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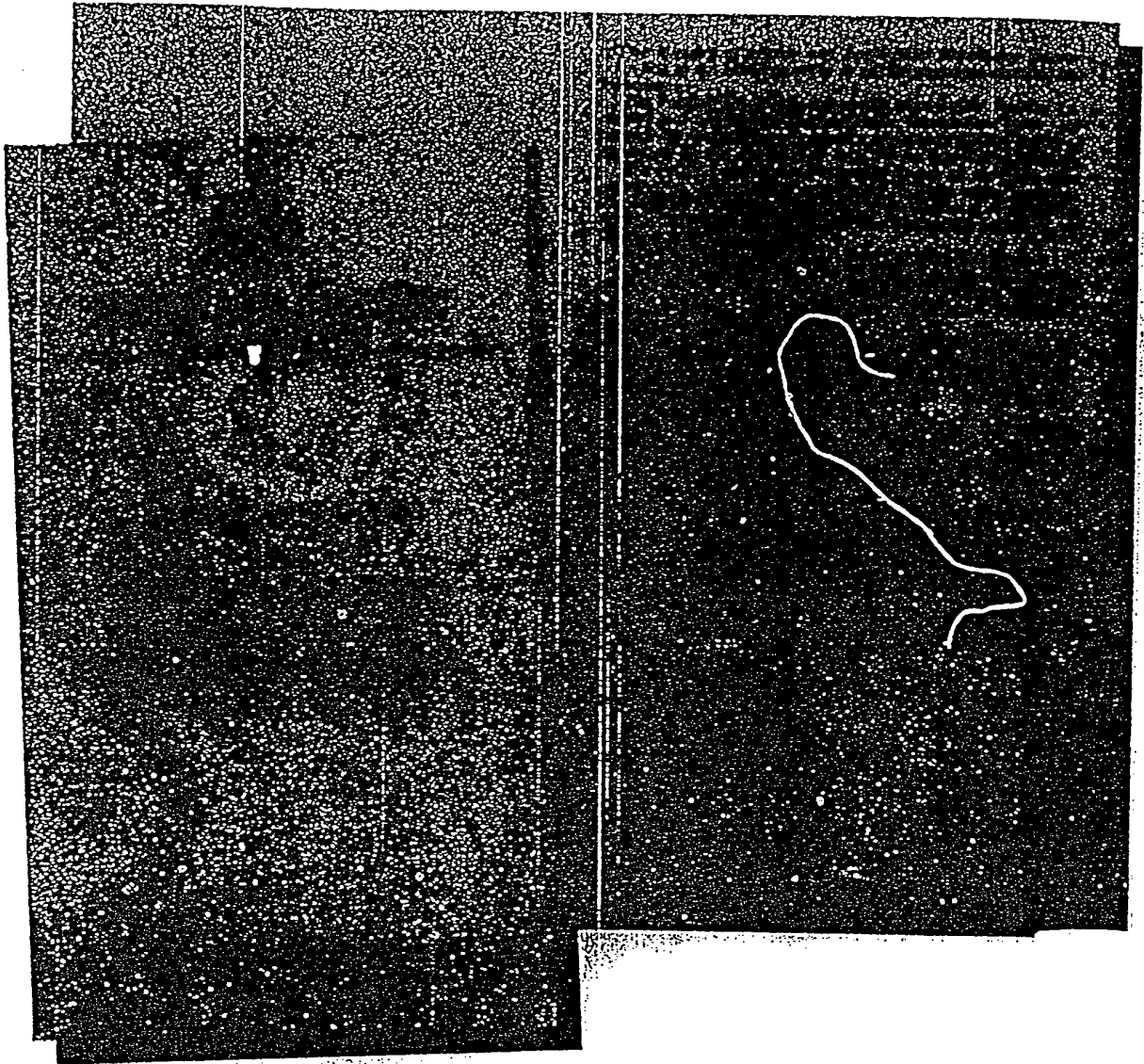
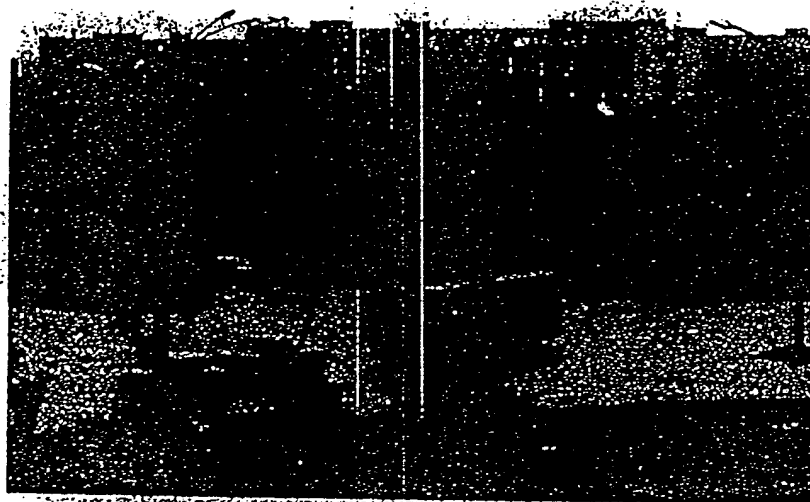


Figure 2. Official Soviet memorandum on the People's Friendship University.

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Figure 3. Patrice Lumumba
University, Moscow



*Standard Soviet Engineering School Curriculum**

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Total Hours</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Total Hours</i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>4,210</i>	<i>General thermotechnics, gas, heat supply, and ventilation</i>	<i>70</i>
<i>History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>Technology of metals and welding</i>	<i>72</i>
<i>Political economy</i>	<i>110</i>	<i>Construction machines, including machine components</i>	<i>106</i>
<i>Marxist-Leninist philosophy</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>Construction mechanics</i>	<i>220</i>
<i>Fundamentals of scientific communism</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>General electrotechnics</i>	<i>88</i>
<i>Physical education</i>	<i>140</i>	<i>Architecture of industrial and civil buildings</i>	<i>221</i>
<i>Economics of construction</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>Fundamentals of hydraulics, water supply, and drainage</i>	<i>72</i>
<i>Technology and organization of construction production</i>	<i>112</i>	<i>Engineering geology</i>	<i>56</i>
<i>Foreign languages</i>	<i>210</i>	<i>Mechanics of soil and foundations</i>	<i>98</i>
<i>Higher mathematics</i>	<i>422</i>	<i>Testing of construction</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>Chemistry</i>	<i>140</i>	<i>Computer technology and engineering and economic accounting</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>Descriptive geometry and mechanical and freehand drawing</i>	<i>178</i>	<i>Fundamentals of automatics and automatiza- tion of construction industry process</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>Organization and planning of construction</i>	<i>98</i>	<i>Reinforced concrete and stone construction</i>	<i>168</i>
<i>Physics</i>	<i>261</i>	<i>Wood and synthetic materials construction</i>	<i>84</i>
<i>Theoretical mechanics</i>	<i>173</i>	<i>Metal construction</i>	<i>112</i>
<i>Engineering geodesy</i>	<i>105</i>	<i>Fundamentals of safety and fire prevention techniques</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>Building materials</i>	<i>105</i>	<i>Obligatory courses established by the council of the higher education institution</i>	<i>98</i>
<i>Resistance of materials and fundamentals of tension and plasticity theory</i>	<i>213</i>		

* A five-year curriculum.

School for Non-Bloc Communists. Administered by the Party Central Committee's International Department, the ISS was established in Moscow in 1961 to train students sent by nonruling Third World Communist parties.⁴ Most students are chosen for their ideological commitment to Marxism, and more than 50 LDCs have been represented at this school since the mid-1960s. We estimate that up to 450 students from non-Communist Third World countries study Communist ideology, propaganda, and organizational techniques each year at this institute.

According to [] ISS courses last from six months to two years and are designed to indoctrinate Communists in Soviet ideology and to assist them in Soviet-directed applications at home. Courses focus on the structure and organization of the Communist party, methodological problems in Communist ideology, and the principles and practices of clandestine work and propaganda. Students can also take special courses in printing, journalism, radio, photography, and youth movements to assist them in their clandestine and propaganda duties at home.

According to [] all ISS students are required to undertake training in clandestine work administered by a "secret faculty." Once a week during the academic year, and for a full month during the summer, students learn "conspiratorial work," such as disguise, use of pseudonyms, infiltration and exfiltration, small-arms marksmanship, and unarmed combat at a paramilitary training site outside Moscow. The secret school also trains students from outlawed Communist parties. Many pro-Soviet officials now in power in client states were trained by this faculty.

Emphasis on the Marxist Client States

Moscow's educational effort has been particularly intense in the Marxist client states of Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, and South Yemen,

⁴All fees and expenses are paid by the Soviet Union, and, where necessary, maintenance is paid to the student's family through the local Communist party

whose ruling regimes receive nearly one-third of the scholarships awarded each year. For example:

- By the end of 1988, the number of Afghan students studying in the USSR each year had more than doubled since 1979 and now represents the largest LDC student contingent in the Soviet Union at more than 8,700.
- The number of Ethiopian students trained in the USSR increased fivefold since the military coup in 1974, with almost 3,400 students currently studying in the Soviet Union.
- The Nicaraguan presence increased from 130 students studying in the USSR in 1979 to 2,000 today.

To accommodate the increase in the number of students from client states, Moscow has allocated more scholarships rather than take them from other parts of the academic training program.

Students from Marxist LDCs in particular are subjected to intensive indoctrination through required extracurricular activities. []

[] was assigned to an indoctrination group for the duration of his stay in the Soviet Union. The group, officially called the Student Group for Studying the Soviet Way of Life, offered an "elective" course load that included the philosophy of Marxism, political economy, and scientific Communism.

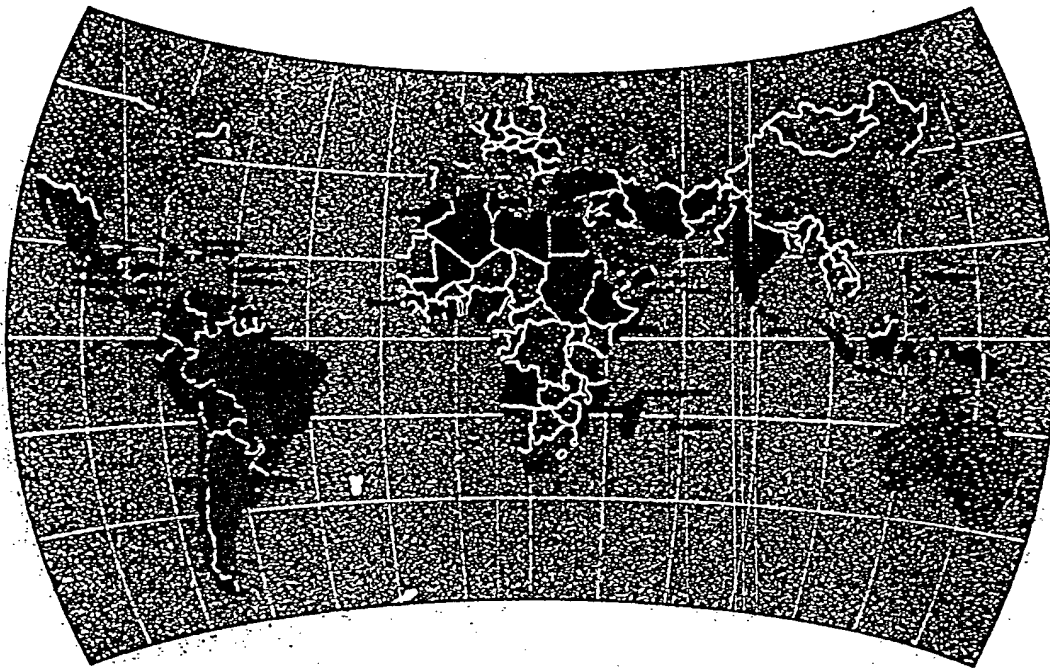
In addition to training these students in the Soviet Union, Moscow has designed programs for primary school through advanced university study to train client-state youth in their home countries in Marxist-Leninist principles. Party schools patterned after Moscow's CPSU Institute of Social Sciences have been established in all the Marxist client states as well as in Congo and Mali. According to []

[] a typical curriculum for a two-year program at an LDC party school would include the following:

- History of CPSU, 180 hours, seminars and lectures.
- Philosophy, 220 hours, seminars and lectures.
- Political Economy, 240 hours.

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Figure 4
Origin of Students From Non-Communist LDCs Who Have
Attended the Institute of Social Sciences, Moscow



Boundary representation is
not necessarily authoritative.

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In-Country Programs: Trying To Create a Communist State

In the 1980s, Moscow has had its first real opportunity to provide a full range of educational services to LDCs with programs designed for its Marxist allies. In these states, the USSR has been able to field-test educational programs that it has used in its own non-Russian republics to produce Communist-educated cadres in the span of one generation. The USSR's approach toward creating a new Communist elite in Marxist states includes both traditional and innovative elements, such as:

- *Providing advisers to foreign education ministries to develop unified curriculums that are politically "correct." Revamped curriculums include Russian-language instruction—other foreign language training is eliminated—socialist economics, and Marxism-Leninism as required study. Moscow replaces existing teaching materials and textbooks with direct translations from Russian texts.*
- *Establishing fully funded political schools within client states—essentially branches of the ISS in Moscow—directed and staffed by visiting Soviets who instruct party cadres in Communist philosophy, political economy, tactics, and organization.*
- *Building and staffing teacher training institutes whose graduates will staff the new school system.*

Moscow has used these elements in varying degrees in Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, and South Yemen.

- Theory and Tactics, 200 hours, seminars and lectures.
- Special: study of the political and economic situation of the student's home country with student participation.

Recruiting Students for Influence and Training

the KGB closely monitors every facet of the Soviet scholarship program.

they were watched closely by the Soviet students assigned to them as roommates and tutors, most of whom reported to the KGB.

students at each university and institute are organized into Provisional University Committees that are supposed to represent student concerns to university officials, but in reality are vehicles for proselytizing new arrivals. Each Provisional Committee is headed by a pro-Soviet student and has a Soviet adviser—probably a KGB officer—who supervises the use of money and other activities by the Committee.

the overall purpose of the KGB actions is to identify individuals who are likely candidates for higher political training. The KGB also attempts to identify individuals who are willing to provide conduits for organizing and funding covert activities on their return home, or who will perform other clandestine odd jobs for Moscow.

In addition to spotting, assessing, and recruiting foreign students studying in the USSR, the Soviets also attempt to identify potential candidates for clandestine recruitment in the process of awarding scholarships. On the basis of Soviet data published in a United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) listing of international scholarships, we estimate that about 60 percent of the scholarships offered annually are distributed—often clandestinely—by local Communist parties, trade unions, friendship societies, and other Soviet front groups. We believe that these groups probably assist in identifying the types of students desired.

In LDCs that have refused or limited scholarship offers, Moscow generally manages to award at least a few scholarships each year without the host government's consent through the above-mentioned groups or directly through the Soviet Embassy. Of the some 71,000 Third World students currently enrolled in

Soviet programs, we estimate at least 14,000 are studying without the knowledge of their home government. For example:

- The USSR has no diplomatic relations with Bahrain and Honduras, and yet several hundred from each country have been educated in the USSR since the early 1960s. Almost all of these students have returned home after training. In Honduras, up to 15 percent of the faculty members at the National University is Soviet trained.

- Although a cultural agreement between the Philippines and the USSR limits the number of Filipino students eligible to study in the Soviet Union and requires the concurrence of the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Soviets have managed to circumvent these regulations for years. []

[] Estimates of the numbers of Filipino students leaving to study in the USSR without the sanction of their government run as high as 60 per month.

- Formal cultural exchanges between Chile and the Soviet Union were terminated after the 1973 military coup, but Chilean students continue to study at Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow. []

- According to [] the Nepalese Government officially sends about 80 students per year to Soviet schools, but another 40 study in the USSR under the auspices of the World Peace Council, the Nepal-Soviet Friendship Society, and other such organizations without the sanction of their government.

According to [] the methods for non-sanctioned travel to the Soviet Union are fairly standard. Students make their way to a central point where they are issued travel documents, tickets, and money. In many instances, students travel on tourist visas to destinations on which their governments place no travel restrictions but which are serviced by Aeroflot. The Soviet Embassy then provides a visa without stamping their passports that allows them to board direct flights to the Soviet Union. Furthermore, students from some LDCs are able to come and go freely

without government interference because of lax border controls. Zaire, for example, does not keep accurate travel records of Zairians who cross the Zaire/Congo border, and Zairian students are able to travel to Brazzaville for onward travel to the Soviet Union without being noticed or recorded. []

[] that local churches also provide some scholarships without the government's knowledge. Church officials make all the necessary arrangements for these full scholarships and encourage participation in the Soviet training program by individuals who have been on bad terms with or who are opposed to their local government. []

Assessing the Program

The Pluses...

Predictably, the Soviet scholarship program has paid the most dividends in the Marxist client states. Over the past five years, Soviet-trained personnel have dominated the power structures in each of the client states, albeit with considerable Soviet assistance. The Presidents of Afghanistan and Angola and the Prime Minister of Ethiopia were trained in the USSR, and Soviet-trained officials also hold high party and government positions in Ethiopia, Nicaragua, and South Yemen. An examination of the careers of these Soviet graduates in Marxist states shows that they provide Moscow with highly motivated contacts in positions where they can promote Soviet interests. Aside from the leadership, long-term Soviet ties are also facilitated by local officials who speak Russian and are familiar with the way the Soviets conduct business. []

[] noted, when the Soviets crossed the border in 1979, they found 3,000 to 4,000 personnel employed in the Afghan bureaucracy who had received their training in the Soviet Union.

In LDCs that are not Marxist client states, gains have also been made from the more than 25,000 students who have returned home with degrees or certificates from Soviet institutions. Over the past five years

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Soviet-trained officials have moved slowly into policy-level positions in a number of countries. According to []

- Soviet-trained officials are employed in the civil service of at least 67 countries and have attained policy-level positions in no less than 45 states, primarily in Africa.
- Moscow has been successful in penetrating the influential Latin American medical establishment—which traditionally supplies a large number of high government officials and heads of state—by offering more medical scholarships than the West. In Bolivia, Ecuador, and Guyana, graduates of Soviet medical programs have attained ministerial positions.
- Syrian graduates of Soviet institutions have become deputy ministers, university vice presidents, and high-level ruling party officials. Soviet-trained teachers dominate Syrian university departments and faculties, and the [] that in 15 to 20 years they will probably occupy most high administrative positions.
- At least 21 countries have student societies whose membership is composed of former Soviet-trained students

Even where the graduates of Soviet institutions may occupy only low-level positions in their government, gains have been made. In Congo, for example, the impact of training up to 300 students per year in the Soviet Union is significant. According to []

[], the vast majority of all government, military, and party posts are now held by personnel who have undergone training there, and many of the elite have largely been indoctrinated with Marxism-Leninism

In addition, as a result of training programs, Soviet influence has increased significantly in local labor unions and opposition groups in at least 23 LDCs, particularly in Latin America. For example, in Colombia's largest labor confederation, Unitary Workers Central (CUT)—a Communist majority organization—most of the top and midlevel leaders in the

Communist contingent have received either medium- or long-term training in the Soviet Union or other Bloc countries and their influence is reportedly great, both within CUT leadership and within the federations of which they were leaders before joining CUT.

Moscow has derived benefits from the program even in countries where Soviet diplomas are distrusted or not recognized by the local government, because returnees still infiltrate the local establishment or unite to overcome obstacles to employment. For example, [] in Zaire indicates that

[] individuals have attained prominent positions in law, education, the media, science and technology, and the civil service, without government sanction. According to []

[] the general skepticism toward a Soviet education fosters a sense of solidarity among returnees. To compensate for the stigma attached to their degrees, returnees tend to form a relatively cohesive professional network, whose members help each other in their careers. When a Soviet-trained Mauritanian reaches a position of influence, for instance, he often hires other Soviet-trained Mauritanians and/or facilitates their advancement. Moscow often receives additional benefits from the Soviet wives of returnees—who often work in the private sector—who maintain regular contact with the local Soviet Embassy.

Many students overall seem to be satisfied with their Soviet education. For instance, a poll of Central American returnees from Soviet schools found that even those opposed to Marxism had a favorable opinion of the Soviet educational system and of their own academic degrees. Most returnees find employment, and the stigma of a Soviet education is gradually disappearing in many LDCs. [] in LDCs report that a few students return from their Soviet studies as committed Marxists; some have been co-opted to serve the KGB in a minor capacity, and a few, particularly graduates of the ISS, have indicated a willingness to cooperate extensively with Soviet intelligence services

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Moscow's Spokesmen in the Third World: Selected Examples

Najibullah, President of Afghanistan
General Secretary of People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA)
Reported political and intelligence training in USSR, late 1970s ... [] []
[] [] ... installed by the Soviets as PDPA Chief in 1986 and President in 1987 ...
mandate from Moscow to find a political solution to the civil war and build a
government that can survive Soviet troop withdrawal.

Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President of Angola
President of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of
Angola-Labor Party (MPLA)
Graduated as petroleum geologist, 1969, Patrice Lumumba University, Moscow ...
member of MPLA since 1961 ... with Soviet support, became Foreign Minister in 1975
and President in 1979.

Fikre-Selassie Wogderess, Prime Minister of Ethiopia
Member, Politburo and Central Committee of the Workers Party of
Ethiopia (WPE)
Institute of Social Sciences, Moscow, 1975 ... second in command to President
Mengistu ... hardliner, pro-Soviet.

Legesse Asfaw, Member, Politburo and Secretariat of the WPE
Emergency Administrator, Tigray Province
Institute of Social Sciences, Moscow, 1975 ... returned dedicated Communist ...
strongly pro-Soviet, fiercely ideological and radical ... []
[] ... believed to be Moscow's key contact in Ethiopian Government and
primary channel for Soviet influence in WPE ... responsible for indoctrinating mass
organizations in Communist ideology ... [] []

Skimelis Mazengia, Member, Politburo and Secretary of
Central Committee of WPE
Chairman, WPE Ideology Commission
Graduated long-term academic training in USSR, 1974 ... returned home to partici-
pate in revolution ... committed Marxist hardliner; one of the most extreme pro-Soviet
Politburo members ... Ideologue of the WPE, enjoys Soviet patronage ... Intelligent
and able ... writes most of Mengistu's speeches

Alemu Abebe, Member, Politburo of WPE

Deputy Prime Minister for Agriculture

Graduated as doctor of veterinary medicine, Moscow, late 1960s ... headed Ethiopian Students Union in Moscow, mid-1980s ... [] recruited as Communist Party cadre and/or Soviet agent during student days ... [] Marxist ideologue; key player behind the Red Terror purge that destroyed thousands of Mengistu's political enemies during the period 1976-79 ... hardliner; previously watchdog for unpartylike behavior.

*Henry Ruiz Hernandez, Member of Sandinista Directorate (FSLN), Nicaragua
Minister of Foreign Cooperation*

Studied at Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow, mid-1960s ... served with Sandinista guerrillas from 1967 ... his experience and reputation serve as model for young cadres ... hardliner on economic matters; [] Marxist and has had the most orthodox Marxist training of all the FSLN leaders ... holds Soviets in high regard and is loyal to them ... believes in confiscation of private property ... has traveled extensively throughout the Communist world to gain economic and political support for the Sandinista revolution.

Abdallah Khamiri, Candidate Member of Politburo, South Yemen

Secretary of Yemeni Socialist Party (YSP) Central Committee for Ideological Matters

Received doctorate in philosophy and social sciences, Moscow, 1980 ... old-line Marxist revolutionary; joined the National Liberation Front (NLF) 1964; Director of NLF, Cairo ... active in politicizing the armed forces, 1980-81 ... pro-Soviet Marxist,

[] ... Moscow has placed him as adviser and speechwriter to new leaders ... has influenced policy in PDRY since late 1960s as Minister of State, Minister of Culture and Guidance; Acting Minister of Education, Minister of Information, and Scholarship Committee member.

Sayf Sayil Khalid, Candidate Member of the YSP Politburo

First Secretary of the Party Organization Committee of Aden Governorate

Studied in Moscow, possibly Institute of Social Sciences, early 1980s ... served as Counselor of PDRY Embassy in Moscow, 1984 ... [] follows a pro-Soviet line ... leader of Fatah faction of young, militantly pro-Soviet Marxist-Leninist officers in the party and government who take the most radical line in policy debates ... advocates implementing party policy through educational programs in PDRY.

USSR: Training Schools Built in LDCs

Moscow's concerted effort to expand its influence in the Third World goes beyond scholarship offers to LDCs each year. Since 1956 the USSR has provided aid for building, renovating, or equipping more than

100 training facilities in 39 developing countries. Many of these facilities use Russian textbooks and are staffed by Soviet teachers:

Project	
East Asia	
Burma	Technical Institute, Rangoon
Indonesia	School, Amboina, Moluccas Gadjah Mada University
Latin America	
Brazil	University equipment
Nicaragua	Polytechnical School, Leon; Energy Technology School; and Agricultural Institute, Cebaco Fishing and mining institutes
Middle East	
Egypt	Seven training centers Geological Research Institute
Iran	Twelve training centers (4,800 students) Eight vocational schools (3,000 students)
Iraq	Oil Industry Training Center
Jordan	Five training schools, Irbid
South Yemen	Geological Training Center, Aden Party school Law faculty, University of Aden Technical training centers, Aden and Mukalla
Syria	Polytechnical institutes, Hims and Latakia Industrial Teachers Training Institute Railway Training Center, Aleppo Oil Industry Training Center, Rumaylan
North Yemen	Three schools Vocational institutes
North Africa	
Algeria	Industrial and Agricultural Training Center Institute for Hydrotechnology, Blida Teacher Training Institute Petroleum and Gas Institute Housing and Urban Institute Twenty vocational schools
Libya	Teacher training center
Mauritania	Russian-Language Faculty, University of Nouakchott
Tunisia	National Technical Institute
South Asia	
Afghanistan	Agricultural and Technical Training Center Petroleum and Mining Institute, Mazar-e-Sharif Polytechnic School, Kabul Technical Institute, Jangalak Party school Teacher training school
India	Equipment for Technical Institute Oil and Gas Institute, Baroda
Pakistan	Metallurgical Institute
Sub-Saharan Africa	
Angola	Four vocational training centers (900 students)
Guinea-Bissau	Nurse training facility
Botswana	Technical school
Cameroon	Agricultural school, Dschang Forestry school, Mbalmayo
Chad	Medical school
Congo	Three technical facilities, University of Brazzaville Party school Two technical training centers

<i>Sub-Saharan Africa (continued)</i>	
<i>Ethiopia</i>	<i>Technical school, Bahir Dar</i> <i>Teacher training institutes</i> <i>Nursing school</i> <i>Vocational training school, Tema</i>
<i>Guinea</i>	<i>Technological Institute, Conakry</i> <i>Renovation of University of Conakry</i>
<i>Kenya</i>	<i>Two technical Schools, Kakamega and Nyeri</i>
<i>Madagascar</i>	<i>Agricultural school, Antsirabe</i>
<i>Mali</i>	<i>Industrial training center</i> <i>Health, administration, agriculture, and political schools</i> <i>Training Center</i>
<i>Mozambique</i>	<i>Sixteen technical schools</i> <i>Two teacher training institutes</i>
<i>Niger</i>	<i>Oil Technical Training Center, Warri</i>
<i>Sierra Leone</i>	<i>Marine fisheries school, Freetown</i>
<i>Somalia</i>	<i>Secondary school and training center, Mogadishu</i> <i>Agricultural school, Togwajaale</i>
<i>Sudan</i>	<i>School laboratories</i>
<i>Tanzania</i>	<i>Two technical schools, Mbeya</i>
<i>Uganda</i>	<i>Agricultural mechanization school, Tororo</i> <i>Medical school, Kampala</i>
<i>Zaire</i>	<i>Technical school, Mbandaka</i>
<i>Zambia</i>	<i>University lab equipment</i>
<i>Zimbabwe</i>	<i>Teacher Training College</i> <i>Vocational training schools</i>

Refresher Training Program for Non-Communist LDCs

Periodically, Moscow offers refresher training courses in the USSR for graduates of their educational programs. []

[] the Soviets try to maintain the good will of Mauritanian returnees by offering them paid trips to the Soviet Union every few years for short refresher courses. []

[] Moscow extends similar offers of short-term training to former students in other LDCs as well. In late 1988, the Soviet Ambassador in Bangladesh awarded 15 new scholarships for refresher courses to Soviet-trained graduates and stated that the number of awards would be increased by 15 percent in 1989. []

Moscow also provides for postgraduate courses to be conducted within LDCs as a means to maintain Soviet contact with high-level administrators who had received some, if not all, of their university training in the Soviet Union. For example, the Guinean Government has recently signed an agreement for nearly 200 top-level Soviet experts to organize postgraduate courses for Guinean executives in Guinea. According to [] [] more than 80 percent of Guinean administrators have received their higher education under Soviet auspices—many in the Soviet Union and others under Soviet professors teaching locally

... And the Minuses

Despite Moscow's success with its Third World educational programs, not all LDC students are happy with the Soviet program and their experience in the USSR. According to [] [], a number of students have returned home after only a few weeks in the USSR because of poor living conditions. According to [] [], some students have been victimized by deceptive recruiting practices, and many have complained about heavyhanded KGB surveillance, travel restrictions, substandard housing, and racial discrimination. These problems affect their morale and their academic performance, causing some to come away from the Soviet Union convinced that Marxism-Leninism is the wrong answer to LDC problems. Negative perceptions are reinforced when

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students are unable to find work in their specialty because their Soviet degree is often not respected in some LDCs.

Students have also recounted instances in which they were deceived by Soviet representatives regarding their intended field of study. Once lured to the USSR, students have found themselves enrolled in a different program from what they had expected:

- According to [] some African students were told that they would be enrolled in programs pursuant to careers as physicians, biologists, scientists, and engineers, but after the first year of language training and the actual coursework began, they found they were being trained as hospital orderlies, vocational nurses, mechanics, plumbers, and electricians.
- [] describes Afghan students who were told they would be going to medical or engineering school, but upon their arrival in the Soviet Union were assigned to programs such as music and physical education.
- According to [], some scholarship recipients have suddenly found themselves inducted into military training after arriving in the USSR. Ethiopian students, for instance, have been drafted for training as pilots and aircraft mechanics at various Soviet Air Force training centers—later to become cadets in the Ethiopian Air Force—after being told by Soviet representatives that they would be attending a Soviet university.

Although official Soviet ideology promotes an antiracist attitude, African students have been the primary target of racial discrimination in the Soviet Union, both by other students and by Soviet authorities.

According to [] African students are generally regarded with contempt and are frequently taunted and harassed. Moreover, Moscow's launching of an anti-AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) campaign and its testing of foreign students for the AIDS virus have added new tensions to Moscow's relations with African states, whose students have been singled out as AIDS carriers. Those testing positive for the AIDS virus are sent back home. For example, official reporting indicates that 54 Ugandan students were deported from the USSR

for AIDS, and the controversy surrounding this situation is still a sore point with Ugandans. The USSR now requires AIDS testing before students are permitted to leave for study in the Soviet Union. Zimbabwe—with a high incidence of students testing positive for the virus—has not sent a student for Soviet training since the new policy was implemented.

In some Western-leaning countries, students who have been educated in the USSR are widely viewed by their Western-educated peers and some employers in their home countries with disdain because they were unable to get a scholarship elsewhere. []

[] For example, in Tunisia the majority of students who study abroad do so in Western countries because of a general perception that the quality of a Western education cannot be matched in the Soviet Union. A similar perception exists among Costa Rican students who believe a Western degree is more valuable and useful. In fact, Soviet credentials are regarded with suspicion and relatively few graduates of Soviet institutions are accepted by local professional associations or find work at local universities. In Uganda, graduates of Soviet universities or institutes are not respected and their degrees are of little value in finding jobs because employers are mistrustful of any Soviet training.

In some LDCs, graduates of Soviet educational programs find on returning home that they must take additional training because they cannot meet skill-level requirements for jobs in their career field. For instance, in leftist Burkina, Soviet-trained graduates must be "recycled" through French or other Western schools for supplemental training before starting employment, according to []. Even in Marxist Ethiopia, which has the largest number of students enrolled in the USSR among African countries, [] reports that Soviet degrees are viewed with great skepticism among Western-educated Ethiopians because many of the students who go to the USSR do not meet the admission standards for entry into local universities. Interestingly, although the Ethiopian revolution is 15 years old, most of the faculty members and administrators in Ethiopian higher educational institutions are still graduates of Western universities.

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*Soviet Degrees and Certificates: How They
Correspond to Foreign Standards*

After a foreign student has satisfactorily completed a course of studies in the USSR, he receives a documentary record of graduation or of the degree conferred on him. The Diploma of Higher Education, which has the same form for all institutions of higher learning, testifies to the completion of the course of studies at an establishment of higher education in the USSR and contains the name of the institute or university, the date of enrollment and graduation, and the specialty and qualification acquired.

The diploma has an accompanying certificate that gives the name of the institute or university, the term of instruction, the name of the specialty and the graduate's specialization in accordance with the curriculum, a list of the subjects studied throughout the course and the ratings for each, the theme of the diploma project or a list of the graduation examinations with the ratings received, and a list of practical studies and industrial training with an indication of the profession and the qualification acquired. If the graduate's ratings are 75-percent "excellent" and the rest "good," and if he got an "excellent" mark for his diploma project and graduation examinations, he is entitled to a Diploma With Honors.

The degree of Candidate of Science along with a Diploma of Candidate of Science is conferred on persons who have successfully presented a candidate's thesis. The diploma indicates the science in which the candidate has specialized. The degree of Doctor of Science is conferred on persons who already have the degree of Candidate of Science or the rank of professor and have presented their doctor's thesis. A Doctor of Science receives a Diploma of Doctor of Science, which indicates his specific field.

To enable foreigners with Soviet documents of education and scientific degrees to establish the equivalents in their home countries, the following measures have been taken:

- Documents indicating the completion of studies at higher educational establishments and advanced training courses are written in a foreign language, as well as in Russian.
- The Soviet educational system combines the bachelor/master's degree concept into one program, which Moscow maintains surpasses the requirements for a master's degree in other countries. Each student is instructed in general and specialized subjects and sits for tests and examinations, while also working on several course papers or projects that are completed by preparing and publicly presenting, before the State Examination Board, a diploma thesis or project.
- The degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) is conferred on all foreign citizens who have successfully presented a candidate's thesis. The diploma that accompanies it is filled out in English and is signed by the Chairman and the Secretary of the Higher Certifying Commission of the USSR.
- Bilateral agreements or protocols have been signed with the purpose of establishing more exact equivalents for Soviet diplomas.

Even though a Western education is widely regarded by many LDCs as far superior to a Soviet one, Moscow maintains that Soviet degrees are equivalent to, or even surpass, university degree requirements in other countries. The USSR has diploma recognition agreements with at least 30 Third World countries.

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Outlook

We believe the academic scholarship program will remain one of the mainstays of the Soviet nonmilitary aid effort in the Third World, even as Moscow tries to pare back overall aid commitments to non-Communist LDCs. The Kremlin has awarded a larger number of scholarships to Third World students during Gorbachev's tenure than ever before, in spite of Soviet internal economic difficulties. Since 1985 Moscow has signed more than 60 new educational agreements and protocols, and the number of non-Communist LDC students studying in the Soviet Union has doubled in the last eight years. As of December 1988, 71,000 students from non-Communist LDCs were being trained in the USSR, compared with 35,000 in 1980. Furthermore, as a result of Gorbachev's more polished style and advocacy of *glasnost*, the Soviet image has improved considerably and Moscow's educational program is looking more attractive to qualified candidates in the Third World.

Moscow's eagerness to accept large numbers of students when given the opportunity—as has happened with the Marxist client states—attests to the continuing importance assigned to the scholarship program. We estimate that Moscow accepted more than 11,500 new students from non-Communist LDCs for advanced study in the 1988/89 school year, an increase of almost 60 percent over the number accepted in 1980, and the highest level of new students to date. According to a recent article in *World Student News*—a publication of the Soviet-controlled International Union of Students—the USSR is increasing the number of scholarship students studying in the Soviet Union over the next few years by 30 percent.

There are compelling reasons for Gorbachev to maintain or increase Moscow's scholarship program:

- It is a low-cost, low-risk, high-impact program. It requires little or no hard currency expenditure and diverts few resources from domestic economic activity. Unlike economic aid programs, it does not draw criticism from the international community.
- It can be tightly controlled by Moscow. No money changes hands, and the USSR insists that graduates return home after study is completed, hopefully to promote Soviet political and economic interests.
- It has been successful. Alumni include a number of high-level officials sympathetic to Moscow's views, as well as others who have permeated influential sectors of LDC governments and professions.
- It burnishes Moscow's image as a peaceful, public-spirited nation intent on improving LDC economic conditions and permits Moscow to inflate claims about its aid to LDCs because the Soviets calculate the value of their scholarships using Western tuition levels.
- It provides continuity of contacts in LDCs through former student societies and refresher courses in the USSR.

Appendix

Academic Students From Non-Communist LDCs Trained in the USSR, 1988 *

Number of persons

	Departures, 1956-88	Departures, 1988	Being Trained, December 1988
Total	167,420	11,530	70,945
North Africa	9,620	650	3,375
Algeria	4,395	200	1,310
Libya	345	15	175
Mauritania	1,115	90	490
Morocco	2,210	250	650
Tunisia	1,520	90	720
Western Sahara	35	5	30
Sub-Saharan Africa	60,760	4,540	23,240
Angola	2,970	400	785
Benin	825	50	335
Botswana	235	15	50
Burkina	925	150	500
Burundi	865	50	440
Cameroon	885	25	300
Cape Verde	670	60	315
Central African Republic	690	5	10
Chad	1,375	300	550
Comoros	130	15	75
Congo	2,815	300	1,025
Djibouti	105	5	65
Equatorial Guinea	800	40	400
Ethiopia	7,905	600	3,370
Gabon	135	10	90
Gambia	225	5	20
Ghana	3,320	250	1,000
Guinea	2,105	155	620
Guinea-Bissau	1,140	300	660
Ivory Coast	445	15	75
Kenya	2,005	60	325
Lesotho	315	10	300
Liberia	155	25	25
Madagascar	3,435	50	1,805
Malawi	55	5	25
Sub-Saharan Africa (continued)			
Mali	2,640	300	1,320
Mauritius	700	10	255
Mozambique	1,655	215	875
Niger	675	30	100
Nigeria	4,960	300	2,400
Reunion	105		30
Rwanda	765	60	400
Sao Tome and Principe	55	5	30
Senegal	940	65	225
Seychelles	240	20	215
Sierra Leone	1,910	200	750
Somalia	1,845	10	25
Sudan	2,435	200	1,085
Tanzania	2,230	75	680
Togo	1,065	60	400
Uganda	1,340	15	500
Zaire	1,085	40	230
Zambia	940	25	195
Zimbabwe	625	10	360
East Asia	1,905	180	435
Burma	250		10
Indonesia	1,030		
Malaysia	5		
Micronesia	10		
Philippines	320	120	315
Thailand	290	60	110
Latin America	25,535	2,030	12,235
Argentina	315	20	65
Belize	25		
Bolivia	1,100	80	700
Brazil	540	10	45
Chile	565	5	30
Colombia	3,210	160	1,500

Academic Students From Non-Communist LDCs
Trained in the USSR, 1988 * (continued)

Number of persons

	Departures, 1956-88	Departures, 1988	Being Trained, December 1988		Departures, 1956-88	Departures, 1988	Being Trained, December 1988
Latin America (continued)				Middle East (continued)			
Costa Rica	1,420	65	1,005	Egypt	1,670	100	395
Dominica	40	5	30	Iran	600	100	575
Dominican Republic	1,675	150	950	Iraq	3,655	100	500
Ecuador	2,930	250	2,000	Israel	645	50	330
El Salvador	1,050	100	600	Jordan	8,420	620	6,520
French West Indies	155	5	25	Kuwait	160	20	65
Grenada	80			Lebanon	2,525	200	1,150
Guatemala	225	15	75	North Yemen (YAR)	4,525	140	1,650
Guyana	200	15	115	Oman	90		60
Haiti	120	5	30	South Yemen (PDRY)	3,165	250	1,650
Honduras	415	25	125	Syria	9,805	350	4,750
Jamaica	90	25	65	Turkey	95		
Mexico	1,160	300	660				
Nicaragua	4,960	300	2,000	South Asia	30,920	1,995	13,285
Panama	2,830	350	1,120	Afghanistan	19,615	950	8,735
Paraguay	20	5	10	Bangladesh	2,085	100	1,000
Peru	1,865	100	700	India	4,050	400	1,500
Suriname	40	5	25	Maldives	45		5
Uruguay	70	10	35	Nepal	2,175	220	520
Venezuela	435	25	325	Pakistan	1,570	225	985
				Sri Lanka	1,380	100	540
Middle East	38,680	2,135	18,375				
Bahrain	480	5	30				
Cyprus	2,845	200	700				

* The numbers in this appendix were derived from official and public sources reporting on students leaving for the USSR on scholarships. Numbers are rounded to the nearest five.

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USSR: Assessment of Training Programs for Non-Communist Developing Countries, 1988

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